

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 7031
INFO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
USDOCOSOUTH
USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 BELGRADE 4758

USDOCOSOUTH FOR INTAF

USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN FOR POLAD

E. O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PORG, YO
SUBJ: MINIC SPEECH OF NON-ALIGNMENT AT 11TH LCY CONGRESS

SUMMARY: FORMER FOREIGN SECRETARY MILOS MINIC ON JUNE 21
DELIVERED COMPREHENSIVE REVIEW AT THE 11TH LCY CONGRESS OF
THE YUGOSLAV CONCEPT OF THE NAM, NOTING THE PROBLEMS FACING
THE MOVEMENT, CRITICIZING THE CUBANS AS WELL AS THE SOVIETS,
AND STRESSING THE CORRECTNESS OF GOY POLICY OF PROMOTING A
"MODERATE" BALANCED ROLE FOR THE NAM. WE FIND MINIC'S
REMARKS MOST DIRECT AND REVEALING STATEMENT TO DATE OF
YUGOSLAV CONCERNS OVER CURRENT TENSIONS WITHIN THE NAM
BETWEEN "RADICALS" (CUBANS, CONFORNTATION STATES IN AFRICA
AND ME) AND "MODERATES". END SUMMARY.

1. MINIC SPEECH TO THE 11TH LCY CONGRESS PROVIDED THE MOST
DETAILED AND AUTHORITATIVE EXPOSITION TO DATE OF YUGOSLAVIA'S
PERSPECTIVE ON THE PROBLEMS CONFRONTING THE NAM. WE PRESUME
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THAT DEPARTMENT WILL HAVE AVAILABLE THE COMPLETE TEXT, BUT
SEVERAL POINTS ARE WORTH MENTIONING:

-- MINIC IDENTIFIED THREE PROBLEMS WHICH, THOUGH PRESENT FOR
SOME TIME, BRING INTO QUESTION FOR THE FIRST TIME THE
SOLIDARITY AND FUNCTIONAL UNITY OF THE MOVEMENT: CONFLICTS
AMONG MEMBER STATES; ATTEMPTS BY THE GREAT POWERS TO SPLIT

THE MOVEMENT; DIFFERENCES OF VIEW AS TO THE CHARACTER, ROLE, AND DIRECTION OF THE NAM.

-- WITH REGARD TO THE FIRST PROBLEM GOY HAS DISTRIBUTED TO MEMBER STATES A DRAFT DOCUMENT ON PEACEFULLY RESOLVING DISPUTES AMONG MEMBER STATES.

-- ASSERTING THAT CONFLICTS IN AFRICA HAD LED TO THE RETURN OF FORMER COLONIAL POWERS AND THE INSTALLATION OF NEW GREAT POWER INFLUENCES IN AFRICA, MINIC CLAIMED THAT CONTINUATION OF SUCH A SITUATION WOULD LEAD TO SUPPORT OF RACIST REGIMES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA BY SOME "INTERESTED" GREAT POWERS AND EMPHASIZED THAT GOY WAS ACTIVELY ENDEAVORING TO INDUCE THE GREAT POWERS AND ALL OTHER COUNTRIES TO "LEAVE AFRICA TO THE AFRICANS."

-- MINIC IDENTIFIES AS "MOST DAMAGING" PRESSURE WITHIN OR WITHOUT THE MOVEMENT TO CHANGE ITS NON-ALIGNED NATURE, ASSERTING THAT SUCH POSITIONS "WHICH ARE ILLUSORILY RADICAL BUT IN FACT DESTRUCTIVE" COME CHIEFLY FROM THE LEFT.

-- HE NOTES THAT THE NAM IS DIVERSE, THUS CONTAINING SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES OF OPINION, AND ACCUSTOMED TO DISCUSSING SUCH DIFFERENCES OPENLY, BUT THESE "CANNOT BE OVER THE QUESTION OF THE CHARACTER, ROLE, AND FUNDAMENTAL DIRECTION" OF THE NAM; ADDING THAT GOY CAN NEITHER UNDER-

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STAND NOR ACCEPT ANY RESTRICTION DEFINING THE STRUGGLE TO BE AGAINST IMPERIALISM, COLONIALISM AND NEOCOLONIALISM ONLY AND WHICH ABANDONS PRINCIPLED STANDS AGAINST HEGEMONISM AND OTHER FORMS OF FOREIGN DOMINATION.

-- MINIC NOTES TWO CRITICISMS OF THIS YUGOSLAV POSITION: FIRST, THAT IT FAILS TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN THOSE WHO ARE THE IMPERIALISTS AND COLONIALISTS. SECOND, THAT SUCH POSITIONS ARE REPRESENTED BY "MODERATE" STATES AGAINST RADICAL, AND THUS ARE SECTARIAN. THESE CRITICISMS ARE FIRMLY REJECTED. YUGOSLAVIA "CANNOT UNDERSTAND" ATTEMPTS TO PROCLAIM ONE BLOC (I.E. THE SOCIALIST CAMP) THE "NATURAL ALLY" OF THE NAM. MINIC ASSERTS THAT SO-CALLED "RADICAL" POSITIONS INESCAPABLY LEAD TO STRENGTHENING THE FORCE OF FOREIGN DOMINATION AND THOSE FIGHTING FOR GREAT POWER SPHERES OF INFLUENCES, WHILE THE "MODERATE" VIEWPOINT IS IN FACT THE MOST TRULY RADICAL, AND THEREFOR THE ONLY CORRECT POSITION FOR YUGOSLAVIA.

-- STRONGLY DEFENDING THE INCLUSION OF HEGEMONY IN THE NAM LITANY OF EVIL, MINIC ASSERTS THAT, WHILE IMPERIALIST INFLUENCE IS RECEDING, HEGEMONY AS A FORM OF FOREIGN DOMINATION IS

BECOMING EVER MORE PREVALENT, ESPECIALLY IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES. DISAGREEMENT OVER ITS INCLUSION EITHER RESTS ON A MISUNDERSTANDING OR ITS ACCEPTANCE BY SOME OR, WHAT IS MORE LIKELY, THEIR ADHERENCE TO "ABSOLUTE DOGMATIC THEORIES OF ONE CENTER AND LEADING COUNTRY."

-- THE STRUGGLE AGAINST HEGEMONY IS PORTRAYED AS HAVING DEEP ROOTS AMONG YUGOSLAV COMMUNISTS, BEGINNING WITH THE BATTLE WITH GREAT-SERBIAN HEGEMONY AND CONTINUING THROUGH THE PERIOD OF THE LAST 30 YEARS WHEN YUGOSLAVIA WAS EXPOSED TO BOTH IMPERIALISTIC AND HEGEMONISTIC PRESSURES.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 BELGRADE 4758

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2. COMMENT: DESPITE OCCASIONAL GENERALIZATIONS TO PRESERVE BALANCE, THIS IS THE STRONGEST PUBLIC CRITICISM TO DATE OF THE CUBAN SOVIET ROLE WITHIN THE NAM AND IN AFRICA, CLEARLY INDICATING THE CONCERN OF THE YUGOSLAVS OVER THE EFFECT THE CUBANS AND SOVIETS ARE HAVING ON THE MOVEMENT. A RECENT STATEMENT BY THE FSFA ASST SEC FOR MULTILATERAL ACTIVITIES KOMATINA TO THE EFFECT THAT CUBAN ACTIVITIES IN AFRICA WERE UNACCEPTABLE TO THE NAM WAS NOT PUBLISHED IN YUGOSLAVIA AND THE CUBANS HAD BEEN REASSURED THAT IT WAS NOT A REFLECTION OF OFFICIAL POLICY. THE MINIC SPEECH WOULD SEEM TO INDICATE THAT THE IMPROPRIETY OF KOMATINA'S REMARKS, IF ANY, LAY IN THE EXPLICIT MENTION OF CUBA BY NAME--OR THAT ANY DISPUTE OVER THIS POSITION WITHIN THE FSFA HAS NOW BEEN RESOLVED.

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